DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 122 279 CS 202 684

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TITLE Incidental Social Learning Among Black and White Viewers in Relation to Authoritarian Characterizations in Prime-Time Entertainment Programming.
PUB DATE 75
NOTE 25p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (Ottawa, Ontario, August 1975)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Adult Learning; *Authoritarianism; Caucasian Race; *Incidental Learning; Mass Media; Negro Attitudes; Observational Learning; *Racial Attitudes; Social Attitudes; Social Factors; Social Influences; *Social Values; Television Research; Television Surveys; *Television Viewing
IDENTIFIERS All in the Family; Sanford and Son

ABSTRACT

The nature of incidental social learning in television viewers of "All in the Family" and "Sanford and Son" was the focus of this investigation. Seven hundred and eight-one racially and economically mixed respondents from Chicago and Atlanta provided the data source. Telephone interviews attempted to assess viewer opinions of the reality of characters portrayed and racial attitudes assumed, entertainment value of the programming, and presence of a moral lesson. Frequency of viewing, identification with a specific character, and levels of cultural estrangement, powerlessness, and meaninglessness were also assessed. Findings suggest that high frequency viewers of both programs find the programming to be entertaining and revealing of actual behavior of the groups portrayed. These individuals are inclined to agree with the authoritarian views of the major characters in the two programs, "Fred" and "Archie." In addition, a high correlation existed between high frequency viewing and viewer self-perception of alienation and estrangement from the outside world. The researchers perceive frequent viewing of these programs to be influential in determining authoritarian attitudes, and suggest further investigation of media effects on social learning. (KS)

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INCIDENTAL SOCIAL LEARNING AMONG BLACK AND WHITE VIEWERS IN RELATION TO AUTHORITARIAN CHARACTERIZATIONS IN PRIME-TIME ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMMING*

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Paper Presented to Minorities and Communication Division
Association for Education in Journalism Convention
Ottawa, Canada
August 1975

CS 202 684

*The authors wish to thank the University of Illinois Research Board, the Survey Research Laboratory, University of Illinois, and the University of Georgia for financial aid and technical support of this project as well as students in the Fall 1974 Mass Communication Research class at the University of Georgia.

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INTRODUCTION

Problem

There has recently been an increase of interest in studying the incidental social learning effects of family entertainment television programming.[1] This interest can be traced to the introduction of programs which are concerned with racial comment and which portray at least one highly dogmatic character. Concern about the potential social learning viewers may receive from such programs is displayed both by those within the television industry and those not directly connected with the industry.

The white performers in "All in the Family" such as Carroll O'Conner, who plays the character of "Archie" as a highly dogmatic father and husband are concerned about their characterizations. O'Conner admitted that he disliked being approached by viewers who identify with "Archie" and thank him "for telling the truth for a change."[2] Redd Foxx, the black comedian who portrays "Fred," the highly traditional and dogmatic father in "Sanford and Son," recently stated that "the scripts were slowly but surely leaning toward Uncle Tom and Amos 'n' Andy."[3]

A black writer of another Tandem Productions black-oriented comedy, "Good Times," gives some insight into the conflict facing him, ". . . Lear's shows are looked at in only two ways--'Is that really what blacks are like?' and 'That is not really what blacks are like.'" Speaking about "Good Times,"

". . . this show is not the image of black people. We don't claim to be representative of all black people--that's too much to be and it's not my responsibility."[4]

The producer of these programs, Norman Lear, feels differently about the nature of his programming concepts. He feels that he has moved the viewing public beyond the "vast wasteland" of previous television programming which handles non-controversial topics in a non-controversial manner. In his programs he emphasizes that, ". . . intelligent adults are entitled to have the problems of intelligent adults."[5] Several social critics, however, disagree with Lear's assessment of his programming approach.

John Slawson observes that, "As citizens, it is our responsibility to curb the influences that produce bigoted attitudes and discriminatory behavior, but we should not condone their expression even if it be by implication. And this is what 'All in the Family' unwittingly does. It has the potential of producing a 'halo effect.' It's in our blood. We all seem to have it in one form or another; so what?"[6]

A Newsweek article denounced "Archie" as ". . . the confluence of everything that fear and ignorance can do to a man."[7] The New York Times wrote, "The most damning tirade has emanated from Laura Hobson whose 1947 novel, "Gentlemen's Agreement," dealt with anti-Semitism. Miss Hobson is furious over the notion that Archie is likable, even lovable. . . . Miss Hobson whats her bigot to be totally hateful, so the message is clear: hate me, hate my dogma."[8]

With such emotional comment as a backdrop, it seems clear that it

would be desirable to understand the extent to which social learning incidentally occurs among viewers of such programs; further, it would be desirable to understand the nature of such social learning.

Previous Research

With respect to "All in the Family," two researchers have studied the question of prejudice reinforcement by examining viewer attitudes toward the program. Vidmar and Rokeach (1974) examined selective perception of the program in relation to dogmatism of the viewer. It is argued that selective perception leads people who are highly dogmatic to pay attention to those messages expressed by "Archie" which are congruent with their beliefs and attitudes toward minority groups. These individuals may utilize the program to reinforce their prejudice and stereotyping. In their study of Canadian adults and U.S. teenagers, Vidmar and Rokeach found a significant relationship between high scores on a ethnocentrism scale, watching "All in the Family" and liking "Archie."

Surlin (1974) examined, in a manner similar to the study described above, the relationship between dogmatism of the viewer and liking and agreeing with "Archie." His study showed, consistent with the results shown by Vidmar and Rokeach (1974), that highly dogmatic individuals did agree with "Archie" significantly more than did individuals low in dogmatism. In addition, this study showed that low dogmatics agreed more with "Mike," "Gloria," and "Edith" than with "Archie." The viewers studied by Surlin were adults residing in the Southeastern United States.

Further evidence of the generalizability of the findings of the above studies is provided by a study of comparable samples of Americans and

Canadians as reported by Tate and Surlin (1975). This study involved cross-national comparisons relating to dogmatism and liking/agreeing with "Archie." There were no significant demographic differences between the two cross-national groups as had been the case in the American-Canadian comparisons shown by Vidmar and Rokeach (1974). There was also no significant difference between the two groups in terms of dogmatism. The findings showed again that those high in dogmatism were significantly higher in liking and agreement with "Archie" than those low in dogmatism.

Leckenby and Surlin (1975) studied the relationship of viewer characteristics to selective perception of various aspects of "All in the Family" and "Sanford and Son." The findings of this study again point toward socio-psychological variables as more important than demographic characteristics of viewers in explaining perception and learning from these programs. The "Powerlessness" dimension of the alienation concept appeared to have higher explanatory power than did race, socio-economic status, or region of residence of the viewer with respect to perception, for example, that "Archie and Edith present a proper example of the way a husband and wife should treat each other."

Similarly, Hellweg (1975) found that attitude similarity/dissimilarity as perceived by the viewer in relation to the characters of prime-time television programs was a more important determinant of interpersonal attraction as compared to demographic factors and perceived physical attractiveness of the characters.

Findings from the above studies suggest that incidental social

learning from entertainment programming is largely a function of the extent of perceived cognitive similarity the viewer establishes with the characters in given programs. There is a great deal of relevant literature in "source credibility" applicable to the above suggestion. Source credibility refers to the qualities in a speaker which cause his message to be acceptable or unacceptable to an audience. It is the degree of confidence in or favorable disposition toward a speaker. Much work has been conducted which attempts to "uncover" the factors which contribute to source credibility.[9] One of these factors may be "interpersonal attraction" of the source for the viewer. According to Byrne and Griffitt (1973), interpersonal attraction refers to an "affective evaluation of another individual."[10] It involves judgments of whether we "like" another person. McCroskey, Larson, and Knapp (1971) found "interpersonal similarity" as one of the factors of interpersonal attraction. That is, it is possible that the establishment by the viewer that he perceives "reality" in a manner similar to a central character in a program may give rise to liking of the character and, subsequently, to agreement with the various problem-solving approaches of the character. It is not suggested this is a conscious process, thus the term "incidental social learning," but rather one which can take place over some extended period of viewing a particular program. This suggests an interest in patterns of viewing behavior in relation to viewer perceptions.

Hypotheses

In light of the above discussion of the research literature relevant to this area of study, the following hypotheses will be examined in the present study:

(1) Those viewers who watch the programs "Sanford and Son" and "All in the Family" more frequently will agree the programs are entertaining and reveal real behavior of the groups represented in the programs more so than those who do not watch these programs as frequently.

(2) Black viewers who agree generally with the point of view expressed by "Fred" in "Sanford and Son" will disagree more than those who do not agree with "Fred" that he is generally shown to be wrong in his views. The same hypothesis is formed for white viewers in relation to "All in the Family."

(3) Considering all viewers (blacks and whites), a higher proportion of those who watch "Sanford and Son" more often will agree with "Fred" rather than other characters in the program than those viewers who do not watch as often. The same hypothesis is tested with respect to "Archie" and viewing "All in the Family."

(4) Those who agree most with both "Fred" and "Archie" rather than other characters in each of the programs will tend to agree more that each of the two programs reveals real behavior of those groups represented in each program than those who do not most agree with "Fred" and "Archie."

(5) There will tend to be a relationship between strength of belief about "Sanford and Son" and strength of the same belief about "All in the Family." That is, viewers will perceive the two programs to be similar with respect to entertainment value, showing a lesson or moral to be learned, reality of behavior, "Archie" and "Fred" are shown to be wrong, and racial relations representations.

The context in which these hypotheses were tested is outlined below.

METHOD

Samples of viewers were obtained on an equivalent basis from Atlanta, Georgia, and Chicago, Illinois. Each selection of respondents began with data obtained from the 1970 United States Census Tracts for the respective cities. The tracts were analyzed and eight census tracts were selected in Atlanta along with four in Chicago. These were selected on the

basis of the type of racial composition and income figures which would allow examination of the data by racial and income differences. The tracts were matched as closely as possible on the basis of race and income composition. In Atlanta, three tracts contained a high percentage of blacks (80% to 97%) with middle level incomes based upon the median level for that tract ($10,933 to $14,275). Two tracts in Atlanta contained a high percentage of whites (98% to 99%) and middle level incomes ($10,941 to $14,384). One tract was low income (6,102) and racially mixed (53% black, 47% white). One tract was low income ($6,559) with a high percentage of blacks (99%), and one low income ($6,449) with a high percentage of whites.

In the Chicago sampling procedure, four tracts were selected. One was predominantly black (92%) and moderate in median income ($9,071); another was also predominantly black (94%) but low income ($5,345). One white tract (99%) in Chicago had median income of a moderate level ($9,258) while the other white tract (90% white concentration) had low median income ($5,420).

The selected tracts were outlined on the respective city street maps. The streets which were contained within each selected tract were listed. Through the use of a street-ordered directory, telephone numbers were selected. The middle income, black subgroup was oversampled in Atlanta in order to assure an adequate sample for analysis in the current study, and as a basis for comparison for data currently being collected as part of a new investigation of a similar nature.

In the Atlanta phase, telephone interviews were completed by ten

student interviewers personally trained by one of the authors. The data were collected during a one-week period in the month of July, 1974, at the same time the interviewers were students in the author's Mass Communication Research class at the University of Georgia. Completed interviews were conducted with blacks, n=175; with whites, n=103; with middle income individuals, n=188; and lower income individuals, n=90. The total number of respondents in the Atlanta portion of the sample was n=278.

In the Chicago portion of the study, telephone interviews were conducted by experienced interviewers of the Survey Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois; each interviewer was trained in terms of the demands of the questionnaire employed in this study specifically. Interviewing was conducted for a three-week period during November, 1974. Interviews were completed with middle income blacks, n=66; middle income whites, n=49; low income blacks, n=59; and low income whites, n=51. There were in total the following sample sizes for each of the subgroupings upon which sampling was based (Atlanta and Chicago taken together): middle-blacks, n=181; middle-whites, n=122; low-blacks, n=119; and low-whites, n=81. The total number of respondents in the study is n=503.

The responses analyzed in this report are taken from a larger questionnaire completed in the interview. The entire interview was completed in the interview. The entire interview was completed within approximately ten minutes. The completion rate was approximately 70% in Atlanta and 94% in Chicago of the contacted subjects. Interviewers did not report any degree of animosity toward the questions by respondents.

The interviewers in both cities found the respondents eager to give their response and the reasoning for the response. In the Atlanta interviewing phase, two black students were trained for the interview and conducted approximately thirty interviews; analysis of responses and comments of the black interviewers verified that the race of the interviewer was not a significant factor in the responses offered by interviewees in the study.

The questions analyzed in this paper dealt with, first, the concept of the perceived reality of the characters depicted in each program under study: "The program ("Sanford and Son") ("All in the Family") reveals how people really behave in their daily life;" second, the reality of racial attitudes held by each race: "The program ("Sanford and Son") ("All in the Family") really shows how most (blacks/whites, respectively) feel about (whites/blacks, respectively);" third, the viewers' perception of entertainment value of the programs: "The program ("Sanford and Son") ("All in the Family") is an entertaining program;" fourth, the perception of a "message" in the program content: "There is a lesson to be learned, or a moral, in each ("Sanford and Son") ("All in the Family") program;" fifth, a question which requested the respondents to indicated which of the major characters in each of the two programs with whose views they most agreed; and sixth, the frequency of viewing for each of the two programs: "Once/twice a month or more (often);" "Once every couple of months (sometimes);" or "Couple of times a year or less (hardly ever)." In addition, three questions were asked to tap the Cultural Estrangement, Powerlessness, and Meaninglessness dimensions

of alienation as developed by Middleton (1963). Other than the questions on frequency of viewing and character with whose views the respondent most agreed, each of the above items were measured on five-point Likert-like scales ranging from "Strongly Agree" (scored "1") to "Strongly Disagree" (scored "5"). A filter question assured that each respondent was an actual viewer of both programs.

RESULTS

Frequency of Viewing and Perceived Reality of Behavior

Table #1 shows the results for the analysis of frequency of watching each of the programs by the extent to which the respondents believe the programs are entertaining and reveal real behavior of the groups represented in the programs. Clearly, there is a monotonicity present in the responses with those watching the programs most frequently finding them to be more entertaining than those watching the programs less frequently ($p < .001$).

In addition, one-way analyses of variance reveal monotonic relationships between frequency of viewing and the extent to which the respondents agree that each program really shows how people like those shown in the programs behave in their daily life. For "Sanford and Son" those who watch "often" tend to agree ($\bar{x}=2.56$) that "Sanford and Son" reveals real behavior while those who "hardly ever" watch the program tend to disagree that this is the case ($\bar{x}=3.47$). This finding is significant at the .001 level of significance. For "All in the Family" there is a significant difference ($p < .01$) between the three levels of viewing frequency with those viewing "often" agreeing that "All in the Family"

reveals real behavior ($\bar{x}$=2.51) and those "hardly ever" watching neutral in their response ($\bar{x}$=2.88).

For both programs, then, the results tend to confirm the first hypothesis formulated in this study: the more a viewer watches each of the programs, the more he will tend to find the programs entertaining and the more he will tend to accept the idea that each of the programs really shows how most blacks/whites behave in daily life.

In addition to the above analyses, the relationship of viewing frequency to two of the dimensions of alienation tapped in the questionnaire was also examined. Table #2 shows similar findings for each of the dimensions across both shows. Clearly, those viewers who watch "Sanford and Son" often are higher in the Meaninglessness and Powerlessness forms of alienation than those who hardly ever watch this program ($p < .001$) in each case). The same relationship is found for each dimension in the case of frequency of viewing "All in the Family" ($p < .001$ for Meaninglessness and $p < .02$ for Powerlessness). In sum, these findings show that frequent viewers of the two programs tend to believe "things have become so complicated in the world today that they don't understand what is going on" and "there is not much that they can do about most of the important problems we face today" more so than less frequent viewers. These same individuals who are high in their feelings of confusion about what is going on around them and high in their sense of lack of control over events which effect them also are the same individuals who find "Sanford and Son" and "All in the Family" entertaining and revealing of real behavior to a greater extent than those viewers low in these feelings.

Agreement with "Fred" and "Archie" by Race of Viewer

Of the black viewers in this sample, 30.3% indicate that they generally agree with the views of "Fred" more so than any of the other major characters in "Sanford and Son." These black viewers agree significantly less ($\bar{x}$=3.05) that "Fred" is shown to be wrong in his views and actions on the program (t=2.64, $p < .01$) than those who do not agree with "Fred" ($\bar{x}$=2.72).

Of the white viewers in the sample, 16.3% agree with "Archie" generally rather than with other major characters in "All in the Family." These individuals also agree significantly less ($\bar{x}$=2.77) than those viewers who agree with other characters in the show ($\bar{x}$=2.25) that "Archie" is shown to be wrong in his views and actions on the program (t=3.16, $p < .01$).

As indicated above, 30.3% of the black viewers agree with "Fred;" this is compared to 17.9% of the white viewers who agree with "Fred." There is a significant difference in the proportion of white and black viewers who agree with "Fred" (X^2=9.62 for d.f.=1, $p < .01$). There is no significant difference, however, in the proportion of blacks and whites who agree with "Archie, 15.0% and 16.3%, respectively (X^2=.15 for d.f.=1, $p > .05$). When the viewers who agree with both "Fred" and "Archie" are compared by race of these viewers, there is no significant difference in the proportion of blacks and whites agreeing with them both, 7.6% and 7.4%, respectively.

Those viewers who agree with both "Fred" and "Archie" are significantly higher in agreement that "Sanford and Son" reveals real behavior of blacks ($\bar{x}$=2.63) compared to those who do not agree with both

characters ($\bar{x}$=2.78). This difference is significant at the .01 level. The same relationship holds for these viewers in relation to "All in the Family." Those who agree with "Fred" and "Archie" agree significantly more (t=2.49, $p < .02$) that "All in the Family" reveals the way whites really behave ($\bar{x}$=2.21) than those who do not agree with both characters ($\bar{x}$=2.66).

It is interesting to note that significantly less female viewers (4.7%) agree with both "Fred" and "Archie" than do males (13.7%) (X^2=12.19 for d.f.=1, $p < .01$). Also, there is a significant difference by age group (X^2=10.65 for d.f.=3, $p < .05$). The results show that 15.2% of the 31-40 year-olds agree with both "Fred" and "Archie" compared to 4.8% for the 30 or younger group, 8.5% for the 41-50 years group, and 5.6% to the 51 years or older group.

Finally, Table #3 shows agreement with characters by frequency of watching each of the shows. There is a significant difference by frequency of viewing in terms of those who agree with "Fred" and those who do not (X^2=7.87 for d.f.=2, $p < .02$). Of those who watch "Sanford and Son" often, a higher proportion tend to agree with "Fred" than other characters. However, in the case of "All in the Family," there is no significant relationship of frequency of viewing and agreeing/not agreeing with "Archie" (X^2=4.23 for d.f.=2, $p > .05$).

The above results confirm hypothesis #2 which stated that black viewers who agree with "Fred" will disagree that he is shown to be wrong in his actions and views. The same was shown for white viewers in relation to "Archie." Hypothesis #3 is confirmed for "Sanford and

Son" but not for "All in the Family." A higher proportion of those viewers who agree with "Fred" watch often as compared to those who do not agree with "Fred." This was not the case for those who agree with "Archie" compared to those who did not agree with "Archie." Finally, hypothesis #4 was confirmed by the data which showed that those who agree with both "Fred" and "Archie" will tend to believe that "Sanford and Son" and "All in the Family" portray blacks and whites in the manner in which they really behave in daily life.

It is also worthwhile to note that blacks indicate to a significantly greater extent than whites that they like "Sanford and Son" better than "All in the Family." Of the black viewers, 51.8% say they like "Sanford and Son," 16.3% say they like "All in the Family" better, and the remaining 31.9% are undecided. Of the white viewers in the sample, 26.3% choose "Sanford and Son" as the show they like better of the pair, 56.8% choose "All in the Family," and the remaining 16.9% say they don't know which they like better (X^2=97.43 for d.f.=2, $p < .01$). Respondents were also asked to guess about the proportion of the writers on each of the shows who were black. For "Sanford and Son," 45.7% of the black viewers indicated only a "few" of the writers were black compared to 31.0% of the white viewers. For "All in the Family," 65.5% of the blacks indicated only a "few" of the writers were black compared to 54.2% of the white viewers. The complete distributions of responses to these questions are shown in Table #4. In both cases, there is a significant difference in the guess by black and white viewers as to the proportion of black writers for each of the shows ($p < .01$).

Relation of Viewer Perceptions of the Two Programs

A series of simple correlation coefficients were computed to examine the hypothesis that there is a relationship between viewer perceptions of "Sanford and Son" with perceptions of "All in the Family." For the sample size utilized in the present study, n=503, any correlation coefficient greater than .12 is significant at the .01 level.

With respect to viewer perception of each of the programs' entertainment value, there was a moderate correlation between the two programs (r=.48). There was a fairly high correlation (r=.67) between viewers perception that "Sanford and Son" reveals real behavior and "All in the Family" reveals real behavior.

There was also a fairly high correlation (r=.55) between viewer belief that "Sanford and Son" shows how blacks really feel about whites and "All in the Family" shows how whites really feel about blacks. The correlation was .69 between agreement with "there is a less to be learned in 'All in the Family'" and "there is a lesson to be learned in 'Sanford and Son.'" There was a moderate relationship between viewer agreement that "Fred" is shown to be wrong in his actions and views and "Archie" is shown to be wrong (r=.43).

Finally, though only moderate, there is a significant correlation for "Sanford and Son" and "All in the Family" in terms of each program showing real behavior with showing accurately how blacks/whites feel about whites/blacks, respectively, (r=.33 for "Sanford and Son" and r=.29 for "All in the Family"). The correlation between showing real behavior and providing a lesson or moral to be learned was .33 and .21 for "Sanford and Son" and "All in the Family," respectively.

On the whole, the above results seem to confirm the final hypothesis which stated that there would be a relationship between perceptions of the two programs. In many respects the programs apparently are perceived in similar ways.

DISCUSSION

A conclusion which seems warranted from this study is that there is a connection between frequency of watching family programming and finding the programming to be entertaining, revealing of actual behavior of the groups portrayed in the programming, and the acceptance of the views of major characters in the programming. Those who watch "Sanford and Son" and "All in the Family" often are also the same individuals who find the two programs to be entertaining. They also accept the portrayal of blacks and whites in the programs as representative of the real-life behavior of blacks and whites. Further, these individuals are inclined to agree with the highly authoritarian characters in the two programs, "Fred" and "Archie."

The potential problem which the above findings present relates to the socio-psychological orientation of the viewer. Those viewers who watch each of the two programs often are also high in alienation relative to viewers who watch the programs less often. Thus, the more a viewer feels "estranged" from the world around him, the more he is likely to watch these programs (and perhaps television in general) and accept the views set forth in the programs, especially when conveyed through highly authoritarian characterizations. This finding is similar to that of Vidmar and Rokeach (1974), Surlin (1974), and Tate and

Surlin (1975). Though highly sophisticated audiences may "see through" the highly dogmatic television characters and find that the program "makes fun" of them, this may not be the case for less sophisticated viewers. In the present study, blacks who generally agree with "Fred" do not agree that he is often shown to be wrong in his actions and views on the program. The same finding was shown for "Archie" and white viewers. It is possible that once a cognitive similarity between viewer/character is established by the viewer the problem-solving approaches of the character could be generalized by the viewer to his own problems in the "real world." When this problem-solving approach is highly authoritarian/dogmatic in nature, the incidental social learning by the viewer becomes dysfunctional. One potential outcome is the reinforcement of racist attitudes and behavior.

It would be helpful if future research in this area would examine the processes by which a viewer establishes cognitive similarity/dissimilarity with highly authoritarian characters in television programming. The concepts of interpersonal attraction and source credibility should be examined in some detail with respect to the underlying mechanisms as these may work in an entertainment, non-structured, persuasive situation such as the shows studied here. Clearly, some work involving either an experimental setting or a panel setting would need to be conducted to demonstrate the connection between viewing frequency and establishment of cognitive similarity/dissimilarity. It is also difficult to ask detailed questions about program content in a survey setting as used in the present study. It would be interesting to examine, specifically, how much of a program's content is retained and for what period of time.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Stuart H. Surlin, "Bigotry on Air and in Life: The Archie Bunker Case," Public Telecommunications Review, 2:2, April 1974, 34-41. Neil Vidmar and Milton Rokeach, "Archie Bunker's Bigotry: A Study in Selective Perception and Exposure," Journal of Communication, 24:1, Winter 1974, 36-47. John D. Leckenby and Stuart H. Surlin, "Race and Social Class Differences in Perceived Reality of Socially Relevant Television Programs for Adults in Atlanta and Chicago." Paper presented to International Communication Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, 1975. Eugene D. Tate and Stuart H. Surlin, "A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Viewer Agreement with Opinionated Television Characters." Paper presented at International Communication Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, 1975.

[2]Celeste Durant, "Amos-Andy Legacy Haunts TV Industry," The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, October 20, 1974.

[3]Newsweek, "TV: Speaking About the Unspeakable," November 29, 1971, 52-60.

[4]Durant, op.cit.

[5]Lawrence Laurent, "Popular TV Shows Focus on Visceral Involvement." The Atlanta Constitution, February 4, 1973, p. 19-f.

[6]John Slawson, "How Funny Can Bigotry Be?" Educational Broadcasting Review, 6:2, April 1972, 79-82.

[7]Newsweek, "Family Fun: CBS's Irreverent New Situation Comedy," March, 1971, p. 68.

[8]Arnold Hano, "Can Archie Bunker Give Bigotry a Bad Name?" New York Times, March 12, 1972, p. 33.

[9]See Susan A. Hellweg, "Perceived Credibility and Interpersonal Attraction of a Communication Source: An Investigation of Prime-Time Television Dramatic Character Portrayals." Paper presented at International Communication Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, 1975. This paper gives a capsule review of the literature in this area of study.

[10]Donn Byrne and William Griffitt, "Interpersonal Attraction," Annual Review of Psychology (Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, Inc., 1973), 24: 317-336.

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Vidmar, Neil, and Milton Rokeach, "Archie Bunker's Bigotry: A Study in Selective Perception and Exposure," Journal of Communication, 24:1, Winter, 1974, 36-47.

Table 1

One-Way Analyses of Variance Using Frequency of Watching to Predict Entertainment Value and Reality of Behavior for Two Programs

(n=503)

Viewing Behavior:	n	$\bar{x}$	F	p
		Dependent Variable:		
Watch Sanford and Son:		"S & S" is entertaining		
often	384	1.77		
sometimes	62	2.02		
hardly ever	57	2.23	15.89	<.001
Watch All in the Family:		"AITF" is entertaining		
often	346	1.80		
sometimes	88	2.02		
hardly ever	69	2.38	21.69	<.001
Watch Sanford and Son:		"S & S" reveals real behavior		
often	384	2.56		
sometimes	62	3.22		
hardly ever	57	3.47	22.96	<.001
Watch All in the Family:		"AITF" reveals real behavior		
often	346	2.51		
sometimes	88	2.85		
hardly ever	69	2.88	6.12	<.01

Table 2

One-Way Analyses of Variance Using Frequency of Watching to Predict "Meaninglessness" and "Powerlessness" for Viewers of Two Programs

(n=503)

Viewing Behavior:		Meaninglessness	Powerlessness
Watch Sanford and Son:	n	$\bar{x}$	$\bar{x}$
often	384	2.65	2.61
sometimes	62	3.27	3.03
hardly ever	57	3.38	3.05
F		15.32	6.41
p		<.001	<.001
Watch All in the Family:			
often	346	2.68	2.62
sometimes	88	3.16	2.99
hardly ever	69	3.03	2.83
F		6.97	3.93
p		<.001	<.02

Table 3

Analysis of Frequency of Watching Two Programs
by Agreement with Program Characters

(n=503)

Viewing Behavior:	Agreement with Characters:	
Watch Sanford and Son:	Agree with "Fred"	Agree with Others
often	85.3%	73.3%
sometimes	8.5	13.6
hardly ever	6.2	13.1
	100.0%	100.0%

(Chi-square=7.87, d.f.=2, $p < .02$)

Watch All in the Family:	Agree with "Archie"	Agree with Others
often	75.6%	67.5%
sometimes	17.9	17.4
hardly ever	6.5	15.1
	100.0%	100.0%

(Chi-square=4.23, d.f.=2, $p > .05$)

Table 4

Viewer Perception of Proportion of Writers Who are Black for Two Programs

(n=503)

# of Black Writers:	Black Viewers:	White Viewers:
for Sanford and Son:		
25% or less (few)	45.7%	31.0%
26-50% (some)	19.8	18.9
51-75% (majority)	10.2	10.0
76% or more (most)	9.9	10.5
Don't Know	14.4	29.6
	100.0%	100.0%

(Chi-square=22.68, d.f.=4, $p < .01$)

for All in the Family:		
25% or less (few)	65.5%	54.2%
26-50% (some)	12.1	15.3
51-75% (majority)	4.2	.5
76% or more (most)	2.9	2.1
Don't Know	15.3	27.9
	100.0%	100.0%

(Chi-square=22.89, d.f.=4, $p < .01$)